

## ANNEXATION.

HOW many and loud, are the objurgations which that pattern father of a family, Mr. Bull, visits upon the marauding propensities of his disinherited son, Jonathan? "The graceless urchin," the old gentleman is constantly saying, "who has already grown so large that his feet stick out far beyond his trowsers, is as greedy as one of his own turkey-buzzards, and as sharp and unconscionable as one of his own peddlers. He has, during the very short time that he has lived, cheated the poor Indians out of twenty or thirty States, has flogged Mexico into the relinquishment of half a dozen more, is bullying Spain for the surrender of Cuba, has hoodwinked Kamehameha I., until he scarcely knows whether the Sandwich Islands

are his own or not, and has deliberately surveyed Japan with a view to some future landing! Was there ever a more unprincipled, insatiable, rapacious, gormandizing Filibuster than that same Jonathan, who fancies that the whole world was made for use, and his use too, and has no more scruple about laying his hands upon any part of it, than a fox has in satisfying his hunger in a hen-roost!"

Having said this, Bull rolls up his eyes in the most moral manner, heaves a lugubrious sigh, and sits down to read the *Times*, which contains several long columns of dispatches from India, and a general account of the troubles in the colonies from Australia and the Cape, to the most northern iceberg on which Capt. Maclure

---

has recently hoisted the "meteor-flag." He is, however, considerably consoled by the perusal, and especially by the comments of the editor on the inappeasable ambition of republics, and their eager spirit of self-aggrandizement. These encourage him into a sound appetite for his rolls and coffee, after which he smilingly turns to *Punch*, whose jokes upon Yankee-doodle-dom are exceedingly mirthful, causing John to split his fat sides almost, over its cunning exposures of American hypocrisy, boastfulness, negro-driving, and land-stealing. Meantime, the entertaining volumes of some traveller in "the States" are laid upon his table, hot from the press, and brilliant with the keenest sarcasms provoked by our vulgarity, which the facetious Cockney (who, if he were called upon to read aloud what he had written, could not pronounce his own mother tongue), shows up in a variety of the most amusing lights.

Well, touching a great deal of this, which gives John a good laugh, we shall have nothing to say; many of us enjoy it quite as much as he can, and for better reasons; but on the subject of Annexation, or the imputed zeal of republics to grasp all they can get, we mean to put in an apology, using the word in its ancient sense of a denial and a justification. We mean to prove, firstly, that a willingness on the part of nations to take the property of their neighbors is no new thing under the sun, so that if the United States had been guilty of it, they would have been acting only in a line of decided precedents. But the truth is, as we shall prove secondly, that we have not been guilty of it at all, in any injurious sense, while our entire national action and diplomacy have been more liberal, just, candid, and forbearing than those of any other nation. Yes; you facetious and vituperative Bulls! we have been the first among nations to set the example of an open, generous, equitable international policy, and whatever advances modern statesmen may have made towards the substitution of highminded negotiation for overreaching intrigue and secret diplomacy, they have learned from us much calumniated republicans! Of that, however, by and by.

Many of the foreign tourists and editors, who chatter of American annexation, really seem to suppose that annexation has never before been heard of in the history of the world. "Did you ever!" they exclaim in tones of offended virtue, like an old lady, who has just been told some precious piece of scandal, forgetting in the excess of her indignation and surprise, the small

indiscretions of her own youth. "Did you ever? These republicans must be actually insane in their avidity for more land! Not satisfied—the cormorants!—with the immense slice of the western continent they now possess, they warn us Europeans off the rest of it, and are consumed with fiery desires for the islands of the sea. Like the republics of old—like the republics of Italy, this modern republic gives token of the characteristic weakness of its kind; it must live by conquest, and, like all its forerunners, swell until it bursts."

Oh! Crapaud and Bull, how can you utter such nonsense? Annexation is no new thing, nor is it peculiarly republican! Every page of history is full of it, from the time of the earliest vagabond and fugitive, Cain, who built a city in the land of Nod, which was not his, until the latest English war in Burmah! It is the one subject, indeed, the burden of human annals. The first command given to Noah, after the flood, was to be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth; or as it may be translated, take possession of the earth; and ever since, that divine injunction, if no other, has been faithfully and incessantly obeyed by his descendants. Do we not all remember, that the condition of the magnificent blessings which the Lord promised to Abram, was, that he should begin a long process of annexation, by "getting out of his own country, and his own kindred, and his father's house," and settling in another land? What was the Exodus of the Children of Israel, under Moses, but a preparatory step to the seizure of Canaan, which was no sooner taken, than it was divided by lot among the nine and a half tribes, the other two and a half having already pocketed their allowance on this side the Jordan? and what the whole subsequent career of the Hebrews under Joshua, but a series of skirmishes with their amiable neighbors, the Amorites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Jebusites, &c., whose country they had invaded, annexing "all the land, the hills, the south country, the valley and the plain, and the mountain of Israel and the valley of the same;" appropriating the cattle, despoiling the cities, smiting the kings, and utterly routing and rooting out the people, so that, as we are told, "not any one was left to breathe!" Nor was this wholesale and slaughterous policy much changed under the Judges and the Kings, in spite of the reverses experienced at the hands of the Moabites, the Midianites, and the Philistines; for, scarcely had they recovered their power under Saul and

David, before they struck out again to the right and left, burning cities, levying bond-service, and converting every body's territory to their own use. Jerusalem, their great city, fell a prey at last to the same spirit, manifested by their Roman neighbors; yet in the heels of this overwhelming disaster, the last vaticination of the apostle of Patmos, as his prophetic eyes swept down the nebulous tracks of time, was, that good Christians every where should not only be "priests and kings unto God," but "inherit all things."

The fact is, that none of those Orientals were ever over particular as to seizing the territories of a friend. If they wanted what he possessed, they took it, and gave him a drubbing besides, if he made any outcry about the process. As far back as we can penetrate in their annals, even to those remote periods when the twilight of tradition itself merges in the primeval darkness; we find that their kings and leaders were capital adepts in the annexing business, carrying it on on a prodigious scale, and quite regardless of the huge rivers of blood, which they often had to wade through, in the accomplishment of their purposes. Some of them, indeed, have left no other name behind them, for the admiration of posterity, than that acquired in these expeditions of butchery and theft, undertaken with the laudable design of stripping a neighbor of his possessions. We know little of Sesostris and Semiramis; but that little is enough to justify Edmund Burke, in setting over against the conquests of the former, about one million of lives, and against those of the latter about three millions. All expired, he exclaims, in quarrels in which the sufferers had not the least rational concern. Old Nebuchadnezzar, too, who flourished in Babylon, according to the Bible, what a thriving fellow he was, in this line! The little state of Judea was scarcely a flea-bite for him; and though he despoiled Egypt, and demolished Tyre, he was quite uncomfortable until Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, Media, Persia, and the greater part of India, were added to his already considerable farm. But what was he, after all, to that series of magnificent Persian monarchs, who thought no more of razing hundred-gated cities to the earth, and laying hold of vast empires, than Barnum's lazy anaconda does of bolting a rabbit? There was Cyrus, a most prosperous gentleman, as the good Xenophon relates, who overran pretty much the whole of Asia, and his promising son, Cambyzes, who took Tyre, Cyprus, Egypt, Macedonia, Thrace, &c., and *his* son

again, Xerxes, "a chip of the old block," and then *his* descendants once more, Artaxerxes, first, second, and third,—all "chips of the old block,"—what unscrupulous ways they had of sacrificing millions upon millions of people in their little territorial disputes? It was well, indeed, that Alexander of Macedon put a stop to these ravages, or there is no telling to what extent they might have carried their sanguinary sports,—perhaps as far as Alexander himself, who beginning with a small strip in the south of Europe, annexed patch after patch, until he became beyond all question the largest landed proprietor in the known world. A bird flying for several days together in a straight line, could scarcely have passed from the western to the eastern boundaries of his dominions. A splendid annexationist, truly, was the great Alexander!

He was not a whit in advance, however, of a famous Tartar captain, who called himself Genghis Khan, and who achieved prodigies of brutality and crime. In advance of him? No! For the magnitude of his rapacity, for the rapidity of his slaughters, and for the exquisite refinement of cruelty which attended his marches, he was as superior to Alexander as the wild tiger is to the domestic cat. Genghis, we all remember, ruled over the Mongols of Tartary, and signalized his accession to power by putting seventy chiefs of an opposite faction into as many caldrons of boiling water. He next seized the vast dominions of Vang-Khan, or Prester John of Austria; after which he reduced the kingdoms of Hya in China, Tangan, Turkay, Turkistan, Karazin, Bukaria, Persia, and a part of India; killing upwards of fourteen millions of people in the process, and annexing eighteen hundred leagues of territory east and west, and about a thousand leagues north and south; and when he had died, one of his sons subdued India, and another, after crossing the Wolga, laid waste to Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, while a third enlarged the patrimonial possessions by Syria, and the maritime provinces of the Turkish empire.

There was one of the ancient nations, more modest than the rest, which we ought to except from this career of conquest and spoliation; for during the greater part of its existence, it was content with its own moderate limits, and the production of Iliads, Prometheus Vinctus, Parthenons, and Orations de Corona. We refer to Greece, which, being more republican than the rest of the world, ought to have been, according to the modern theory, more



omnivorous than the rest. But Greece was poor-spirited in comparison. She had become so enamored with her own glorious skies and hills, was so delighted with her own fair climate, and so besotted with a certain dreamy notion of beauty and self-perfection, that, like a woman as she was, she seldom passed beyond her own threshold. Not that she was afraid of fighting, either, as certain places named Thermopylæ and Marathon bear witness; but that she was quite destitute of that grandeur of soul which led Belus, Sesostris, and the other illustrious individuals to whom we have referred, to cut their way to glory, by cutting the throats of so many of their fellow humans.

We shall have to dismiss republican Greece, then, as rather an untoward case, and turn to imperial Rome. Ah! how her records blaze with examples of a thorough spirit of annexation! Suckled by a wolf in the beginning, Rome never lost her original vulpine nature, but to the day of her dissolution, went prowling about the world, wherever there was a sheepfold to break into, or an innocent lamb to be eaten. Look into the index of any popular history of her triumphs, and mark how it is composed of one unbroken series of annexations! Thus it reads: B. C. 283, the Gauls and Etrurians subdued; B. C. 278, Sicily conquered; B. C. 266, Rome mistress of all Italy; B. C. 264, the First Punic War; B. C. 231, Sardinia and Corsica conquered; B. C. 224, the Romans first cross the Po; B. C. 223, colonies of Placentia and Cremona established; B. C. 222, Insularia (Milan) and Liguria (Genoa) taken; B. C. 203, the Second Punic War; B. C. 212, Syracuse and Sicily conquered; B. C. 210, Scipio takes New Carthage; B. C. 204, Scipio carries the war into Africa; B. C. 195, war made upon Spain; B. C. 188, Syria reduced to a Roman province; B. C. 168, Macedon becomes a Roman province; B. C. 149, Third Punic War, and conquest of Corinth; B. C. 146, Greece becomes a Roman province; B. C. 135, Spain a Roman province; B. C. 133, Pergamus a Roman province; B. C. 118, Dalmatia a Roman province; B. C. 105, Numidia becomes a Roman province; B. C. 99, Lusitania becomes a Roman province; B. C. 80, Julius Cæsar's first campaign,—and after that the reduction of the world, from the hot sands of the desert South to the fogs of Britain in the North, and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean, in the other direction. The *veni vidi vici*, in short, was not an individual saying, but a universal Roman maxim.

We might refer, too, now that we are

on the train of historical locomotion, to those extraordinary migrations of the German races, who seem to have had no other object in life, than to overrun the territories of others, and who, in the end, coming on like whirling sand-storms of the desert, paid Rome in her own coin; or to those exciting episodes of the Middle Ages, when myriads of pious and blood-thirsty Crusaders flung themselves upon Asia, with an entire looseness, to recover the Holy Land; or to the impartial ferocity of the Spanish and Portuguese in their excursions over South America; or to the entertaining annals of treachery, freebooting, and assassination by which the many great and royal houses of Europe built up their power,—such as the house of Bourbon, which gradually enlarged its right to a few acres, to a right coextensive with France—or the house of Hapsburg, a small German dukedom at the start, but now a mighty empire in which a dozen kingdoms are absorbed—or to the house of Bonaparte, which began without a sous to bless its stars with, but which speedily enlarged its phylacteries, and got itself warm on nearly all the thrones of the Continent; or, in brief, to a hundred other instances of enormous adventure and gigantic brigandage. But the truth is, that this kind of thing is the staple and uniform of all annals.

Rabelais, in his famous outline of conquest, which the gallant statesmen of Pichricole presented to that chivalric monarch, though he has caught the spirit of this national Rob-Royism, combining its own largeness of view with the easy effrontery of the swell-mob, hardly equals veritable history. "You will divide your army," said the Duke of Smalltrash, the Earl of Swashbuckler, and Captain Durtaille, who were Pichricole's advisers, "into two parts. One shall fall upon Grangouzier and his forces; and the other shall draw towards Onys, Xaintoigne, Angoumois, and Gascony. Then march to Perigourt, Medos, and Elanes, taking wherever you come, without resistance, towns, castles, and forts; afterwards to Bayonne, St. John de Luz, to Fuentarabia, where you shall seize upon all the ships, and, coasting along Galicia and Portugal, shall pillage all the maritime places even to Lisbon, where you shall be supplied with all necessaries befitting a conqueror. By Copsodie, Spain will yield, for they are but a race of boobies! Then are you to pass by the Straits of Gibraltar, where you shall erect two pillars more stately than those of Hercules, to the perpetual memory of your goodness, and the narrow

entrance there shall be called the Pichricolinal Sea. Having passed the Pichricolinal Sea, behold Barbarossa yields him your slave! And you shall conquer the kingdoms of Tunis, of Hippo, Argia, Bomine, Corone, yea, all Barbary. Furthermore, you shall take into your hands Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia, Corsica, with the other islands of the Ligustic and Balearian seas. Going along on the left hand, you shall rule all Gallia, Narbonensis, Provence, the Allobrogians, Genoa, Florence, Luccia; and then—God be wi' ye—Rome! Italy being thus taken, behold Naples, Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily all ransacked, and Malta, too! From thence we will sail eastward, and take Candia, Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclade Islands, and set upon the Morea. It is ours, by St. Irenæus! and the Lord preserve Jerusalem!" With the enumeration of Lesser Asia and the entire east of Europe, the imagination of the monarch was excited, and he shouted, "On, on, make haste my lads, and let him that loves me, follow me!"

No! the fertile fancy of Rabelais, in the widest circuit of its fun, does not equal the serious doings of some even of our modern nations. "A century ago," says the latest Blackwood, "Russia, still in the infancy of civilization, was scarcely counted in the great European family. Gigantic, indeed, have been the forward strides she has since made, in power, influence, and territory. On every side she has extended herself; Sweden, Poland, Turkey, Persia, have all in turn been despoiled or partially robbed by her. North and south she has seized upon some of the most productive districts of Europe; the Baltic provinces on the one hand, Bessarabia and the Crimea on the other."

Be it observed, however, in justice to critic and criticized alike, that Russia is bashful, self-denying, almost ascetic in her lust of annexation, compared with another power, which we shall not name, lest we should shock its delicate sensibilities. But we could tell, "an we would," of a certain little island of the North Atlantic, in itself scarcely bigger than a bed-spread, yet boasting of an empire on which the sun never sets. It has annexed to its slender chalk-cliffs, from year to year, one country after another, until now it exclaims in the pride and plenitude of its dominion,—

"Quæ regio in terra, nostra non plena laboris?"

which, in its own vernacular; means, "on what part of the earth have we not gained a foothold?" In Europe, there are Scotland, Ireland, the Orkneys, Gibraltar, Malta, Heligoland, and the Ionian Isles;

in America, there are Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, and the Bermudas; in the West Indies, there are Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, Antigua, Dominica, the Bahamas, Guiana, and a dozen more; in Africa, there are Good Hope, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and St. Helena; in Australia, there are New South Wales, Western Australia, Southern Australia, and Van Dieman's Land; and in Asia, there are, most monstrous of all, Ceylon and India, with its dependencies. Enough, one would say, in all conscience for a reasonable ambition; but it is not enough for the people of that little island—that model of all the national proprieties—which omits no opportunity now for extending its possessions, and almost with every steamer sends us word of new acquisitions in the East!

Alas! we must repeat it, annexation is *not* a new thing, *not* a peculiarity of republicans, and of late American republicans, in particular; not in any sense a novel iniquity over which we are just called to moralize! It is a practice as old as our race and as broad as our race; known to every people and every age; and as invariable, in its promptings, if not its effects, as a natural law. Wherever there have been weak nations to pillage, and strong nations to pillage them; wherever there have been men, like those splendid robbers of antiquity, willing to offer hecatombs of lives to their insane will to rule; wherever there have been chances opened to military genius, to rapacious selfishness, to the love of a row, to the hope of plunder, to the appetite for distinction and blood, to the mere vague restless feeling for movement and change,—there annexation has flourished, in one form or another, and the relations and destinies of empires have been relaxed, or enlarged, or revolutionized. But, God in heaven! what a phantasmagoria of wrong, outrage, and despotism it has been! What spoliations, ravages, wars, subjugations, and miseries have marked its course! What crimson pictures it has painted on every page of almost every history! Indeed, when we look at it, how the whole past comes rushing down upon our vision, like a vast, multitudinous, many-winged army; with savage yells, with wild piercing whoops, with ringing war-cries, with sackbuts, and cymbals, and trumpets, and gongs, and the drowning roar of cannon; naked heroes, shaggy sheep-skinned warriors, glittering troops, phalanxes and serried legions, colossal cavalries; now

sweeping like frost-winds across the plains—now hanging like tempests on the mountains—now breaking in torrents through rocky defiles—and now roaring like seas around the walls of cities,—onward and downward they come, irresistible, stormy, overwhelming: the mighty host, the stupendous vanguard of never-ending annexationists!

Note, also, that it is not in conquest alone that this spirit of aggrandizement has been exhibited; for next to the history of conquest, the most terrible book that could be written, would be a narrative of national colonization, or of the peaceful attempts of nations to create auxiliaries on distant shores. It would be a second Book of Martyrs, eclipsing in atrocities the rubric of Fox. It would show us innumerable homes, in all lands, made vacant by forced, or, quite as dreadful, voluntary exiles: the pathways across the lonely seas, lined, like the accursed middle passage of the slave-trade, with the bones of victims cast down to watery deaths; the inoffensive natives of many a continent and island driven mercilessly, by intruders, to the jungles, or the swamps, or to the solitary fastnesses of the mountains; weary years of struggle on the part of the intruders themselves against disease, against poverty, against capricious and persecuting climates and intractable soils, and against the cruel extortions and oppressions of remote administrations; and, as the end of all, failure, in its worst forms, of industrial bankruptcy and social ruin. Many, indeed, is the colony, to which we might apply the heated, but not overdrawn language of Sheridan, in describing the desolations wrought by Hastings in the province of Oude. "Had a stranger," he exclaims, "entered that land, and, observing the wide and general devastation of fields, unclothed and brown—of villages depopulated and in ruin—of temples unroofed and perishing—of reservoirs broken down and dry; had he inquired, 'what has thus laid waste this beautiful and opulent country; what monstrous madness has ravaged with wide-spread war; what desolating foreign foe; what civil discords; what disputed succession; what religious zeal; what fabled monster has stalked abroad, and with malice and mortal enmity, withered by the grasp of death, every growth of nature and humanity?' The answer would have been, not one of these causes! No wars have ravaged these lands and depopulated these villages! no desolating foreign foe! no domestic broils! no disputed succession! no religious superser-

viceable zeal! no poisonous monster! no affliction of Providence, which, while it scourged us, cut off the sources of resuscitation! No! this damp of death is the mere effusion of British amity. We sink under the pressure of their support! We writhe under their perfidious gripe! They have embraced us with their protecting arms; and lo! these are the fruits of their alliance!"

Now, compared with the Brobdignagian scoundrelism of the older nations, both in the way of conquest and colonization, what have we poor republican Americans done? Why are we stigmatized, as offenders above all others, or as the special representatives of that national *avidus alienum*, which confesses neither limit nor principle? We have, since the commencement of our political existence, perfected three things: we have entered the lands of the Indians; we have acquired Louisiana, Florida, and Texas; and we have beaten Mexico out of California and a few other morsels of earth; to which let us add, that we meditate some time or other getting possession of Cuba, and perhaps of the Sandwich Islands. That is positively the front and substance of all our trespasses! But in what manner have they been committed?

No one, we suppose, will question the propriety of our mode of acquiring Florida and Louisiana, which were purchased honorably in the open market; therefore we will begin with the poor Indians. We have robbed them of their lands, it is said. But it is not so; not a rood of their land have we which has not been honestly paid for, and more than paid for, as land goes, and a thousand times paid for in superior returns! De Tocqueville made this charge in his book, and led Mr. Benton, who was then in the Senate of the United States, to call for a full "numerical and chronological official statement of all our dealings with the Indians, from the origin of the federal government in 1789 to his day, 1840," which he procured from the department, making a full and accurate list of every acre that we had ever taken from any Indian tribe or individual. What is the result? Why, it appears from the document, that the United States had paid to the Indians eighty-five millions of dollars for land purchases up to the year 1840, to which five or six millions may be added for purchases since—say ninety millions. This is near six times as much as the United States gave Napoleon for Louisiana, the whole of it, soil and jurisdiction, and nearly three times as much as all three of the great foreign purchases—



Louisiana, Florida, and California,—cost us! and that for soil alone, and for so much as would only be a fragment of Louisiana or California. "Impressive," says the distinguished statesman, to whom we are indebted for this exposition of an Indian policy, "as this statement is in the gross, it becomes more so in the detail, and when applied to the particular tribes whose imputed sufferings have drawn so mournful a picture from Mons. de Tocqueville." Fifty-six millions went to the four large tribes, the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choc-taws and the Chickasaws, leaving thirty-six millions to go to the small tribes whose names are unknown to history, and which it is probable the writer on American democracy had never heard of when sketching the picture of their fancied oppressions. Mr. Benton adds, in respect of these small remote tribes, that, besides their proportion of the remaining thirty-six millions of dollars, they received a kind of compensation suited to their condition, and intended to induct them into the comforts of civilized life. He gives one example of this drawn from a treaty with the Osages in 1839, which was only in addition to similar benefits to the same tribe in previous treaties, and which were extended to all the tribes which were in the hunting state. These benefits were, "two blacksmith-shops, with four blacksmiths, five hundred pounds of iron and sixty pounds of steel annually; a grist and a saw-mill, with millers for the same; 1,000 cows and calves; 2,000 breeding swine; 1,000 ploughs; 1,000 sets of horse-gear; 1,000 axes; 1,000 hoes; a house each for ten chiefs, costing two hundred dollars a piece; with six good wagons, sixteen carts, twenty-eight yokes of oxen, with yokes and log-chains for each chief; besides agreeing to pay all claims for injuries committed by the tribe on the white people, or on other Indians, to the amount of thirty thousand dollars; to purchase their reserved lands at two dollars per acre; and to give them six thousand dollars more for certain old annuities. In previous treaties had been given seed grains and seed vegetables, with fruit seed and fruit trees, domestic fowls, laborers to plough up their ground and to make their fences, to raise crops and save them, and teach the Indians how to farm; with spinning, weaving and sewing implements, and persons to show their use." Now all this, observes our authority, was in one single treaty, with an inconsiderable tribe, which had been largely provided for in the same way in six different previous treaties! But all the rude tribes—those in the hunting

state, or just emerging from it, were provided for with equal solicitude and liberality, the object of the United States being to train them to agriculture and pasturage—to conduct them from the hunting, to the pastoral and the agricultural state. Not confining its care, however, to this, and in addition to all other benefits, the United States have undertaken the support of schools, the encouragement of missionaries, and a small annual contribution to religious societies who take charge of their civilization. Moreover, the government keeps up a large establishment for the special care of the Indians, and the management of their affairs; a special bureau, presided over by a commissioner at Washington City; superintendents in different districts; agents, sub-agents, and interpreters, resident with the tribe; and all charged with seeing to their rights and interests—seeing that the laws are observed towards them; that no injuries are done them by the whites; that none but licensed traders go among them; that nothing shall be bought from them which is necessary for their comfort, nor any thing sold to them which may be to their detriment. Had the republic been actuated, in its intercourse, by any of that selfish and infernal spirit, which animates the old monarchies, it would have swindled or beaten the Indians out of their possessions at once, and, in case of resistance, put the whole race to the sword.

But it will be answered, "You have carried them by force, from their ancient homes, from the graves of their sires, and planted them in new and distant regions!" We reply, that we have done so, in the case of a few tribes, or rather remnants of tribes, as a matter, however, of absolute necessity, and not in any grasping or unkind spirit. A small, but savage and intractable race suddenly surrounded in the Providence of God by a powerful and civilized people, whose laws and customs it cannot or will not accept, but whose vices are readily spread among them, has no other destiny but to die of its corruptions, to perish in arms, or to be removed by gentle methods to some more remote and untroubled hunting grounds. It was at the option of the United States to choose either of these courses, and its choice, on the advice of Jefferson, whose noble fortune it has been to initiate so much of our most wise and beneficent policy, fell upon the most humane, peaceful, and considerate of the three. Indeed, the language in which this plan was urged, in the second inaugural address of the eminent democrat we have just named, may be used also as the

language of the history which records its execution. "The aborigines of these countries," said he, "I have regarded with the consideration their position inspires. Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the streams of overflowing population from other regions directed itself on these shores. Without power to divert, or habits to contend against it, they have been overwhelmed by the current, or driven before it. Now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts—to encourage them to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence, and to prepare them in time for that state of society which, to bodily comforts, adds the improvement of the mind and morals." We have therefore liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and householdure; we have placed instructors amongst them in the arts of first necessity; and they are covered with the ægis of the law against aggressors from among ourselves. A few stubborn individuals, misled by prejudice or ambition, and carrying with them fragments of their tribes, have resisted the inevitable fate of their race, and have compelled our authorities to subdue them by arms; but the greater part of the tribes have gone to their new homes beyond the Mississippi cheerfully, and in peace. Some, like the Cherokees, have been raised to a higher European civilization; and all are in a condition superior to that in which they were found by our people.

The annexation of Texas, secondly, it is needless to dwell upon, because it was an event so inevitable as a historical development, and so clear in all its principles, that it requires no justification. A bordering people, in the natural increase of population and trade, settle in a foreign state, where they acquire property and rear families; they gradually become citizens, and look upon the place as their home; but they are oppressed by the government, and rise in revolt; they carry on a successful revolution; they organize and maintain a free and stable government: they are acknowledged as independent by all the leading powers of Christendom; and then to secure themselves from external assault, and to acquire additional internal strength,—led too, by old and natural affinities,—they seek a constitutional alliance with the people to whom they formerly belonged, and are still cordially at-

tached. That is the whole history of Texas, and we see nothing in our yielding to her request for admission to the rights and protection of the Federal Union, that is, in the least, extraordinary, or atrocious, or particularly greedy. As a question of domestic policy, the annexation may have properly divided opinion; but as a question of international relations, nothing could have been more simply and obviously just.

Again: in respect to conquests, we have but one to answer for—that of Mexico,—and there is nothing in either the commencement, the course, or the end of that—if even it may be called a conquest—for which the lover of his country or humanity, needs to blush. It was a regular war, begun in vindication of the clearest national rights, which had been outraged; carried on with vigor, but with the strictest regard also to the most just and honorable principles; and closed by a deliberate treaty, in which, though it was in our power to confiscate the whole nation, by reducing it to the state of a dependent province, we refrained from all arbitrary or exorbitant demands, and agreed to pay generously for every acre of land that we retained, and for every iota of loss we had occasioned! It is true that the territories thus acquired proved subsequently, through their unexampled mineral deposits, to be of priceless worth; but this peculiar source of value was unsuspected at the time, while it is probable that, if they had remained in the same hands, they might have been unknown to this day.

Compare, then, the "annexation" of the United States, for which it is so largely ridiculed, or so roundly abused, with the same process as it has been conducted by other nations! Not with those predatory expeditions of the magnificent bandits of the East; not with the Roman conquests, which were incessant scenes of spoliation, violence, subjugation and tyranny; not with the irruptions of the northern hordes, whose boast it was that no grass grew where they had trod; not with the merciless and gory marches of Pizarro or Cortes, because those were the deeds of rude and brutal ages; nor yet even with the stormy *anabasis* and *ratabasis*, as De Quincy somewhere calls it, when,

"The Emperor Nap. he did set off  
On a pleasant excursion to Moscow;"

but compare it with the more modern, and, therefore, we may suppose, the more just and humane management of their external relations, by any of the most advanced nations of Europe! With the treatment of Algiers by the French,



for instance ; or of Poland by Russia ; or of Hungary and Italy by Austria ; or of Ireland and India by England ! We shall see the latter subduing, plundering, depopulating, carrying decay or death wherever they spread, maintaining their supremacy only by armies of functionaries and soldiers, who consume the substance and blast the industry of their dependents ; and shaping their entire policy with a single eye to their own interests. We shall see, also, that they are hated and cursed, with unrelenting bitterness, by their victims. On the other side, we own no subject nations, no colonial victims, no trembling provinces—and we never desire to own them ;—we waste no fields, we ruin no cities, we exhaust no distant settlements ;—the weak Indian tribes among us we have striven to redeem and civilize ; the weak Mexican and Spanish races about us, a prey to anarchy and misrule, we offer the advantages of stable government, of equal laws, of a flourishing and refined social life ; and we aim at no alliances which are not founded on the broadest principles of reciprocal justice and goodwill. Away, then, with the base calumnies which hold us up to the world as a nation of reckless filibusters ! Away with the European cant of the invading tendencies of Republicanism !

“ Our past, at least,” as Webster said, “ is secure.” It brings no crimson to our cheeks : not, however, that our people are any better in themselves than other people—human nature, we suppose, is much the same every where—but because our free and open institutions, through which the convictions of men and not the interests of monarchs or families are expressed, incite no sinister and iniquitous proceedings. The glory of Republicanism is, that it is aboveboard, reflecting solely the extant wisdom and justice of the aggregate of its supporters.

Thus far, we have only disposed of the invectives of foreigners, showing what gratuitous and unfounded malice they are ; but we have yet to consider our subject in its most important aspects, or in its bearings upon the internal policy of the State. The annexation of contiguous territories, in one shape or another, is a question that must constantly arise in the course of our progress, and it is well for us to know the true principles on which it should be managed.

From the time that Adam was sent out of the sunset gate of Eden ; from the earliest descent of the Scythians upon the plains of Iran ; from the Phœnician settlements in Greece ; the tremendous invasions of the Mongolians in Russia ; and

the dispersion of the Teutonic races over Italy, France, and England ; down to the exodus of the Pilgrims, and the hegira from all lands into the golden reservoirs of California, there appears to have been a decided movement southward and westward of the populations of the world. It was never constant and continuous, and yet, contemplated in large epochs, it was always discernible. Sometimes, creeping slowly like a silent brook in the shade of forests ; sometimes arresting itself like pools in the hollows of rich valleys ; sometimes, indeed, seeming to recede, and then springing suddenly from hill-top to hill-top, as the lights which bore the news of Grecian victory, in old Homer's poem, it has gone forward, to the gradual civilization of the earth. By natural growth, by the multiplying ties of trade, by warlike excursions, by voluntary migrations, by revolutions and by colonizations, the superior races of the great central cradles of Western Asia have spread, pursuing the paths of the sun, until they now quite circle the globe. Nor is there any reason for believing that this diffusive *conatus* will be stopped, while there remains a remotest island, or secluded western nook, to be reduced to the reception of Christianity and European arts. An instinct in the human soul, deeper than the wisdom of politics, more powerful than the sceptres of states, impels the people on, to the accomplishment of that high destiny which Providence has plainly reserved for our race.

Annexation, consequently, is an inevitable fact, and it would be in vain for the American people to resist the impulses which are bearing all nations upward and onward, to a higher development and a closer union. Nor, when we consider the attitude in which we are placed towards other nations of the earth, is it desirable for us, or them, that this expansive, yet magnifying influence, should be resisted ? As the inheritors of whatever is best in modern civilization, possessed of a political and social polity which we deem superior to every other, carrying with us wherever we go the living seeds of freedom, of intelligence, of religion ; our advent every where, but particularly among the savage and stationary tribes who are nearest to us, must be a redemption and a blessing. South America and the islands of the sea ought to rise up to meet us at our coming, and the desert and the solitary places be glad that the hour for breaking their fatal enchantments, the hour of their emancipation, had arrived.

If the Canadas, or the provinces of South

or Central America, were gathered into our Union, by this gradual and natural absorption, by this species of national *endosmosis*, they would at once spring into new life. In respect to the former, the contrasts presented by the river St. Lawrence, which Lord Durham described, and which are not yet effaced, would speedily disappear. "On the American side," he says, "all is activity and bustle. The forests have been widely cleared; every year numerous settlements are formed, and thousands of farms are created out of the waste; the country is intersected by roads. On the British side, with the exception of a few favored spots, where some approach to American prosperity is apparent, all seems waste and desolate. . . . The ancient city of Montreal, which is naturally the capital of Canada, will not bear the least comparison in any respect with Buffalo, which is a creation of yesterday. But it is not in the difference between the larger towns on the two sides, that we shall find the best evidence of our inferiority. That painful but undeniable truth is most manifest in the country districts, through which the line of national separation passes for a thousand miles. There on the side of both the Canadas, and also of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, a widely scattered population, poor, and apparently unenterprising, though hardy and industrious, separated by tracts of intervening forests, without town or markets, almost without roads, living in mean houses, drawing little more than a rude subsistence from ill-cultivated land, and seemingly incapable of improving their condition, present the most instructive contrast to their enterprising and thriving neighbors on the American side." The Canadas have rapidly improved since Durham wrote, galvanized into action chiefly by American example and energy, and the larger freedom they now enjoy; but what might not their development be if wholly emancipated and republicanized? Or, still more, in respect to the silent and barren regions of the Southern Continent, what magical transformations, a change of political relations would evoke? The rich wastes given over to the vulture and the serpent,—where the sunshine and air of the most delicious climate fall upon a desolation,—would blossom and put forth like the golden-fruited Hesperides, opening a glorious asylum to the over-crowded labor of Southern Europe; the immense rivers which now hear no sound, save their own complaining moan as they woo in vain the churlish banks that spurn their offers of service, would then laugh with ships and go rejoicing to the

sea; the palsy-smitten villages broken into pieces before they are built, would teem like hives with "singing-masons building golden caves;" and the scarcely human societies, leprous with indolence, or alternately benumbed by despotism, or convulsed by wild, anarchical throes, would file harmoniously into order, and like enchanted armies, when the spells of the sorcerers are gone, take up a march of triumph:

"Such power there is in heavenly polity."

Nor would the incorporation of these foreign ingredients into our body,—we mean by regular and pacific methods, by a normal and organic assimilation, and not by any extraneous force or fraud,—swell us out to an unmanageable and plethoric size. It is the distinctive beauty of our political structure, rightly interpreted, that it admits of an almost indefinite extension of the parts without detriment to the whole. In the older nations, where the governments assume to do every thing, an increase of dimensions is always accompanied by an increase of danger,—the head is unable to control the extremities, which fly off into a St. Vitus's dance of revolution, or the extremities are paralyzed, through a congestion of despotic power in the head. But with us there is no such liability: the political power, dispersed and localized, the currents of influence pass reciprocally from the centre to the circumference, and from the circumference to the centre, as in the circulation of the blood; and whether the number of members in the system be more or less, the relations of strength between them and the head remain pretty much the same; or, rather, as our federal force is the net result and quotient of the contributions of the separate States, it is rather strengthened than weakened by the addition of new elements. Our circle of thirty-one integers works as harmoniously as it did when it was composed of only thirteen, while the probability of rupture is lessened, from the greater number which are interested in the Union. A powerful community, like New-York or Ohio, might have its own way opposed to a mere handful of smaller communities; but opposed to a vast network of communities, though never so small in themselves, it would be compelled to listen to reason. Indeed, the dangers likely to arise in the practical workings of our system, will result from an excessive centripetal, rather than centrifugal tendency, and the annexation of new States is, therefore, one of the best correctives of the vice.

But be that as it may, it is clear that we must maintain some relations to the



other nations of the world, either under the existing international law, or by treaty, or else by regular constitutional agreement. Now, which of the three is the best? International law, as we all know, is the merest figment in practice, proverbially uncertain in its principles, without sanctions or penalties, and wholly ineffective when it conflicts with the will of powerful states, of which fact the whole continent of Europe is witness. Treaties of amity and commerce are often only temporary, and may be abrogated at the option of the parties to them, or openly violated, when one of the parties is strong and unscrupulous. But a constitutional union, an eternal and brotherly league of independent and equal sovereignties, is the most permanent, peaceful, and unoppressive in which states can be joined,—the wisest, strongest, and happiest relation that can be instituted among civilized nations. We are, therefore, decidedly in favor of its adoption in settling the terms of our intercourse with all the people who are around and about us; carrying our faith in its efficacy and beneficence so far, in fact, that we expect to behold, at no distant day, the whole earth encompassed, not by warring tribes and jealous nationalities, but by a glorious hierarchy of free and independent republics.

The fears, therefore, that some express at our assumed velocity and breadth of expansion, would, if they were well-founded, be ungenerous, as well as unmanly and un-American. They are petty, unreasoning, and extra-timid. If we ever had swept, or were likely to sweep over the earth, sirocco-wise, drinking the dews, withering the grass, blinding the eyes of men, or blistering their bodies, there would then be some excuse for such apprehensions; or, if in the might and intensity of the centrifugal impulse there were danger of dislocating our own system, whirling the fragments off into measureless space, it would become the character of every patriot to shout an earnest halt. But Caucasians as we are, carrying the best blood of time in our veins,—Anglo-Saxons, the inheritors of the richest and profoundest civilizations: Puritans, whose religion is their most imperishable conviction: native Yankees of indomitable enterprise, and a capacity for government and self-government, which masters every element—the effeminacy of climate, the madness of gold-hunting, the spite and rage of seas and winds,—we go forth as a beneficent, not a destructive agency; as the bearers of life, not death, to the prostrate nations—to the over-ripe or the under-ripe

—to all who lie on the margins of Bethesda, waiting for the good strong arm to thrust them in the invigorating pool.

Precisely, however, because this tendency to the assimilation of foreign ingredients, or to the putting forth of new members, is an inevitable incident of our growth,—because too, of the manifest advantages to all concerned,—there is no need that it should be specially fostered or stimulated. It will thrive of itself: it will supply the fuel of its own fires: it requires only a wise direction. A masterly inactivity is here emphatically the rule, for it will better secure us the desired result than the noisy, proselytizing, buccaneering zeal of over hasty demagogues. The fruit will fall into our hands, when it is ripe, without an officious shaking of the tree. Cuba will be ours, and Canada and Mexico, too,—if we want them,—in due season, and without the wicked impertinence of a war. Industry, commerce, silent migrations, the winning example of high prosperity joined to a Freedom which sports like the winds around an Order which is as firm as the Pyramids, are grappling them by unseen ties, and drawing them closer each day, and binding them in a unity of intercourse, of interest and of friendship, from which they will soon find it impossible to break, if they would, and from which, also, very soon, they would not break if they could. Let us then await patiently the dowries of time, whose promises are so complacent and decided,

"Nor weave with bloody hands the tissue of our line."

It should be, moreover, always borne in mind, as the truth most certain of all the truths that have been demonstrated by the experience of nations, that their home policy, their domestic relations, their internal development, the concentration, not the dispersion, of their energies, are the objects to which they should devote their first and last, most earnest and best regards. It is the most miserable and ruinous of all ambitions, which leads nations into dreams of external domination and power. The wars they engender, deadly as they may be, are comparatively nothing to the sapping, undermining, exhausting drains and sluices they open in the whole body and every limb and member of the state. "Ships, colonies, and commerce," has been the cry of the old world cabinets, and the effects are seen in bankruptcies, in Pelion-upon-Ossas of debt, in rotten courts, in degraded and impoverished peoples, and in oppressed and decaying neighbor-nations. Thus, France, instead



of giving a chance to her thirty-six millions of lively and industrious people, to recover and enrich their soils, to open roads, to make navigable their streams, and to build themselves up in knowledge and virtue, has ever been smitten with an insane love of foreign influence; but might rather have been smitten with the plague. She has overrun and ruined Lombardy; she has overrun and paralyzed, if not ruined, the Netherlands and Holland; she has overrun and arrested the civilization of Catalonia; she has overrun and deeply wounded Belgium; she has been the perpetual enemy of the free cities of Germany, stirring up thirty years wars, and assisting Austria in infamous schemes of destruction; she has invaded Genoa, Sicily, Venice, Corsica, Rome, suppressing them time and again with her armies; she hangs like a nightmare upon Algeria; she maintains penal colonies at Guiana—and all with what gain to herself? With what gain? Heavens! Look at the semi-barbarism of her almost feudal rural population; at the ignorance, licentiousness, and crime of her cities; at her vast agricultural resources, not only not developed, but laden with taxes and debt; at her unstable governments, shifting like the forms of a kaleidoscope; at her *Jacqueries*, her *St. Bartholomews*, her dragonades, her *Coups d'Etat*; her fusiladed legislators, and her exiled men of science and poets! France, under a true decentralized freedom, with the amazing talents of her quick-witted and amiable people, left to the construction of their own fortunes, might now have been a century in advance of where she is; but she followed the *ignis fatuus* of glory, of power abroad instead of industry and peace at home! England, too, in spite of her noble qualities and gigantic industry, has depopulated Ireland, starved India, ruined her West India islands, hamstrung the Canadas, in order to make distant markets for her trade,

and yet, her poor at home are imbruted, half-starved, earning only one tenth of what they might for her, while younger and freer nations are enticing away the commerce of the very dependencies which it has taken whole generations of wrong, torture, and bloodshed to create!

On the other hand, the United States, refraining from the spoliation of her neighbors, devoting herself steadily to the tasks of industry set before her, welcoming the people of all nations poor and rich, restricting government to its simplest duties, securing every man by equal laws, and giving to every citizen opportunities of honor, fortune, self-culture,—has, in a short fifty years, overtaken the most advanced nations, has left the others far in the rear, and in less than ten years from the date at which we write, will take her stand as the first nation of the earth—without a rival—without a peer—as we hope without an enemy,—but, whether with or without enemies,—able, single-handed, to dictate her terms, on any question, to a leash of the self-seeking, and therefore decrepit, monarchies of Europe. By not aiming at foreign aggrandizement, of which she is so often recklessly accused, she has reached a position which puts it easily in her power. Her strength has been in her weakness; her ability to cope with the world has grown out of her unwillingness to make the attempt; and behold her now a magnificent example of the superior glory of peace, justice, good will and honest hard work. God grant that she may never find occasion to walk in the devious paths of intrigue, to raise the battle cry of invasion; and God grant too,—we ask it with a double earnestness,—that she may not, in her prosperity, forget those that are in adversity; that she may never take part with the oppressor, but give her free hand of sympathy to the oppressed, whenever they shall undertake the struggle for their rights!